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FRANCIS (BACON), LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

“WHAT’S in a name?” According to the old proverb, if you give a good dog a bad name he may just as well swing for it, without mercy and without redress. And if somewhat similar treatment be meted out to a man, very much the same again may be said of him. Suspicion will pursue him and attach to his memory. If a false evil report be spread by rivals, or by such as are not themselves quite innocent, it is all the same. The report will gain more following, and make more way, than sober fact or sound argument. It was a startling illustration of the force of evil report and popular prejudice, when not long ago such a censure as this was cast upon the memory of Francis (Bacon), Baron Verulam, Viscount S. Alban :—“I will throw all argument to the winds ; I will listen to nothing that would reflect the least credit upon that scoundrel.” This was not the thoughtless utterance of a young, untaught, unintelligent, person, but of an eminent scientist, whose opinion on physical matters is entitled to great and deserved respect. Even professed historians are not wholly free from misapprehensions and prejudices ; from which their studies do not always enable them to escape. If historians err it is not commonly through wilful misrepresentation of facts, but rather from misinterpreting or exaggerating them ; or from attributing to the person concerned motives and conduct which might be suggested by supposed facts, yet which might be equally suggestive of the contrary. Traditional prejudices have a marked hold upon existing popular opinion ; and if no satisfactory motive or reason be discovered for a man’s questionable conduct, it is natural and easy to invent one. If there be the slightest doubt or uncertainty about the fact itself, the judgment respecting it is just as likely to be false as true.

Lord Macaulay well expresses and with undeniable force and precision, his own unconscious failing ; when he warns

his readers that "the fanaticism of the devout worshipper of genius is proof against all evidence and all argument." He even naively makes this remarkable acknowledgment :—"My accuracy as to facts I owe to a cause which many men would not confess. It is due to my love of castle building." We certainly are not accustomed to regard castle building as a pursuit at all likely to establish the truth, or historic accuracy of facts, especially as to small details, howsoever well it may strengthen or establish the conviction, or impressions of truths, or of untruths, already conceived.

In dealing with admitted historical difficulties, as to the life and true character of Lord S. Alban, more familiarly if not so correctly known at the present day as "Lord Bacon," we can but endeavour, however humbly and imperfectly, to sustain the high repute in the world's estimation, to which he is entitled, and chiefly under that mysterious circumstance of his life which has been ominously called his "fall," but which may much more truly be said to have been his great moral victory ; in spite of all the worldly loss that it entailed, and all the ill-feeling and the ill-fame that followed in its trail. We can but aim at combating the false traditions, the mistaken notions, the unfortunate prejudices, which have gathered around his memory, and which in the opinion of many have left a lasting stain upon his character ; at dispelling the doubt and hesitation, not to say antagonism, with which so many receive anything that may be urged in his favour. It will be useless to attempt this merely by acclamation of his virtues, or by declamation of the aspersions cast upon him, without bringing together a few important facts, unreasonable deductions, and false arguments which have led to existing doubts as to his life and conduct. We are the more concerned to do this inasmuch as his name has been of late years, brought much into public prominence. And at the present day when commercial corruption is rife, when public "company-making" is followed as a personal speculating business ; when illicit commissions are privately given and accepted as honourable transactions, and when patronage is largely bestowed upon money rather than upon merit, the memory of the great and the good ought to be jealously guarded from false calumnies, which might serve to furnish a questionable example for the conduct of the unscrupulous and evil.

When a taint of corruption and evil-doing has been allowed to attach, whether through the wilful, or through the unwitting

ting misrepresentation of historians, or of others who may have failed to clear their own fame, the difficulty of approaching such a subject with a reasonable hope of removing traditional prejudices is indeed great. Nevertheless it ought to be by no means insurmountable, if only we can make up for the scant and lagging justice which has been awarded to the memory of a man who would innocently and meekly suffer injustice or injury, rather than resent it, or even choose to plead for the public vindication of his own character and conduct. His name should be transmitted to posterity as unsullied; and freed from the unjust aspersion cast upon it by those who have simply endorsed the unjust calumnies raised by former enemies, or rivals, against the judgment and the testimony of those who knew him best, and were familiar with his daily life as well as with his political aims and difficulties.

The "Popular Encyclopedia" tells us that "he was the most remarkable man of whom any age can boast." When nineteen years old he wrote a work entitled, "Of the State of Europe" in which he gave the most astonishing proofs of the early maturity of his judgment. Subsequently "he soared to such a height that his contemporaries could not fully estimate the extent of his genius, the justness of his views, and the importance of his labours." And no one has disputed his marvellous powers. But too many have joined in the common condemnation of his conduct, without sufficient enquiry. Respecting this, Professor Nichol writes, "No mind like Bacon's, living through its duration, and grand ideas, ought to be suspected of voluntary descent to utter meanness, unless on evidence which concerning the actions charged against him, has not come assuredly from that age." Dissimulation indeed, corruption, treachery to friendship—it matters not what the mind may be that is guilty of them, the acts are mean and the mind foul. But the error in the popular judgment lies here, dissimulation and corruption are inferred on the strength of obscure circumstances, and without the necessary enquiry!"

At the time when Bacon lived, we know that amongst many of those with whom he had to do, the circumstances would be purposely obscured, in order to disguise their own guilt and to shift the disgrace on to him. We have the best reasons for believing that the black stigma attaching to his name is absolutely unjust. He lived at the close of a dark period of English literature and of English history; and he ventured to work out single-handed a reformation not only in the teach-

ings of philosophy, but also of social and official life ; which were at that time, greatly and generally corrupted. The amount of animosity thus stirred up may be readily imagined. He became the natural enemy of such as considered it of small moment whether fair means or foul, truth or falsehood, should be employed in their daily intercourse and official transactions. And they would transmit to posterity their own distorted views of his unblemished character. Thus it is that we find such a gloomy catalogue of weaknesses and defects registered against him ; to be countervailed, on the other hand, by the sterling appreciation of his character expressed by those who knew him the most intimately, and were the most fully acquainted with his high aims and his noble deeds. It is hopeless to expect a definite, trustworthy, account of his life and character, expect from such as really knew him. There is no name in history which has been so canvassed and criticised. On the one hand, special attention has been called to his narrowness of mind ; to his mean and cowardly conduct. He has been termed servile, a flatterer, fawning on the great ; intriguing, selfish and money-loving ; from mere vanity and ambition hunting after place and power ; arrogant ; boasting of his influence ; hypocritical, proud, lacking elevation of sentiment ; low and utilitarian in his philosophy ; a faithless time-serving friend ; ungrateful, unloved as he was unloving ; cruel even to animals ; an inequitable judge, perfidious ; corrupt in his judicial sentences ; receiving bribes to pervert justice ; without any sense of humour ; never making a pun or a quibble ; without poetry ; without any imagination of the higher type ; irreligious ; tolerant in religious matters, even to indifference.

We need not fear, we need not hesitate, to give in detail this category of his imaginary faults, well knowing how false the imputations are. We must boldly face the difficulties inseparable from the vindication of his character ; and show his innocence of the grave charges which have been made, but never proved. It is not surprising that in the corrupted condition of society at that period, ignorant reports should everywhere be reiterated and gain the day. The friends of aggrieved evil-doers would not be likely to listen to those who pleaded the positive side of his character, who esteemed him for his sterling worth, and were not misled by malicious misrepresentations and misinterpretations of his motives and conduct. The only marvel is that we should still find so full and so interesting an account of his character, of good actions

done from the highest and purest of motives, under exceptionally trying and difficult circumstances. He was said to have inherited as rich a profusion of virtues as ever adorned a noble nature. He was generous, open-hearted, peculiarly sensible to kindness, equally forgetful of injuries ; altogether too vast and grand to be an easy flatterer ; so far from being servile, he did not sufficiently cultivate the courtly subservience required in those days ; he was regardless of money, place or power for their own sakes ; but he was desirous of a provision which might enable him to devote himself to literature ; he strove for money and position only that he might use them for the good of all, to advance learning, science and religion ; he was of a patient, conciliatory nature ; a man most sweet in his conversation and ways ; ever a countenancer and fosterer of other men's parts, being himself, retiring, nervous, sensitive, unconventional, modest ; he was of a sanguine, hopeful spirit, without arrogance or pride ; he was lofty in sentiment, truly great, always candid and accurate ; unalterable to his friends ; no man knew better, or felt more deeply, the duties of friendship ; all who were good and great honoured him as one of the greatest of men and most worthy of admiration ; it is not his greatness that we admire, but his goodness ; his kindness and tenderness of heart ; his love of animals and flowers ; he was in no way responsible for the torturing of criminals, which he deprecated as cruel, and strove to suppress. He was a profound student of human nature ; a patriot ; politically bold and independent on important matters ; he was an equitable judge ; his judgment were neither questioned nor reversed. The lofty and gentle course which he took in the events culminating in the trial and condemnation of Essex commanded the admiration of all his contemporaries, save of a faction of the defeated band, of such as joined with Essex in his rebellion. With this we must deal more in detail presently.

Then again we are told that Bacon was the most prodigious wit that ever lived ; fond of quibbles could not pass a jest, his speech was nobly censorious ; his imagination was of the highest order ; he was highly poetical ; possessing every faculty and gift of a true poet, but "concealed," the poetic faculty was strong in his mind ; his very prose was poetry. He had the liveliest fancy and most active imagination. He was truly religious, he was conversant with God ; and able to render a reason for the hope that was in him. Such is the concurrent testimony of his friends. In the face of such con-

flicting traditional testimony, it might seem at first sight hopeless to rely for certainty upon either of the accounts given. But, if we can trace to their origin the causes from which the calumnies sprang, we shall certainly be one good step nearer the truth. Both accounts cannot possibly be correct; nor can even a compound mixture of them be so.

Let us then examine a little more closely into two incidents which gave rise to grave charges against him in the first instance. Apart from these and from the popular clamour to which they gave rise, nothing has occurred to contradict the general goodfeeling which was always entertained towards him.

His manful attempt to remedy certain evils quietly, without ostentation and without the public exposure of those concerned, cost him his position and brought him into undeserved disgrace. The common but discreditable custom of paying fees into Court, prior to the hearing of a suit, although in many cases a necessity, had opened the door to grave irregularities, which he himself repudiated and endeavoured to suppress. The charges against him arose mainly from the prejudiced misstatements of the friends of some who had suffered under his bold and straightforward conduct in the perplexing difficulties of the day, and from his unflinching administration of justice. There were of course those who would naturally resent the smallest interference with their assumed prerogatives, when their illegal perquisites began to be diminished and endangered.

Whether as a politician or as a justiciary, a philosopher or man of the world, there is in English history no nobler character than that of Francis Bacon. Yet no one has been more misapprehended, more misrepresented, more maligned, than he has been by Lord Macaulay, under cover of a true appreciation of his transcendent merits. Whilst ignoring what was said of him by his secretary, Ben Jonson, his chaplain Dr. Rawley, or his friends, Sir Tobie Matthew and others, Macaulay seizes upon a new edition of the "Life of Bacon and His Works," by Basil Montagu, "of whose minute and accurate researches" he speaks nevertheless in the highest terms. But he is said to have entertained a sort of contemptuous antagonism to Montagu. He proceeds, therefore, to spend his ingenuity and his eloquence in denouncing Montagu's arguments as reckless and inconclusive, as of a villainous and base nature. He exerts his whole powers to prove Bacon's mean, and debased, and debasing conduct; and his

depraved moral instincts and sentiments to have been utterly at variance with his general life and character, as a man of the highest intellect, culture, and research. He becomes merely a special pleader against the true historian as well as against the subject of his history. He valiantly occupies, all the way through, the very place and the very character which he himself invokes against Montagu, as the great *avvocato del diavolo*, and by a distortion of facts he represents the great, the wise, the virtuous hero of philosophy, of literature, and of romance, as the author of cruel, selfish acts, which subsequently overwhelmed him in remorse and shame. He proclaims some of Bacon's superior external qualities in order to contrast them with his hidden, selfish, villainy. He sets him on the highest pinnacle, that he may the more completely cast him down thence. He speaks of him as patient, placable, amiable, and pre-eminently courteous, even to servility. He recognises some of his more brilliant parts, the riches and power of his mind; his highly-gifted intellect, even claiming for him a true poetic genius of the highest order. But he regards his moral character, as exhibited in his actions, low, mean, base, and contemptible. He calls him cold and calculating, unfeeling and cruel; mercenary and avaricious; wanting in all high sentiment of friendship and affection. In illustration of this, he quotes, as a striking instance, one in which Bacon—conceived by him to be seeking only his own ambition and serving his own personal interests—had sacrificed the friendship and affection of the youthful Earl of Essex. Macaulay determines to “ban Bacon with faint praise,” and then to pile upon him a mountain of moral faults of which he was utterly incapable, and from which his noble nature would instinctively shrink. “The moral qualities of Bacon,” he says, “were not of a high order. We do not say that he was a bad man. He was not inhuman or tyrannical.” Yet he takes special pains to prove him as such. “He bore with meekness his high civil honours, and the far higher honours gained by his intellect. He was very seldom, if ever, provoked into treating any person with malignity and insolence,” and so on. But then he goes on to say, “Bacon's faults were,” we write it with pain, “coldness of heart and meanness of spirit. He seems to have been incapable of feeling strong affection, of facing great danger, of making great sacrifices. His desires were set upon things below—wealth, precedence, titles, patronage, the mace, the seals, the coronet, large houses, fair gardens, rich manors, many services

of plate, gay hangings, curious cabinets, had as great an attraction for him as any of the courtiers who dropped on their knees in the dirt when Elizabeth passed by."

Yet we find in Bacon's conduct a self-sacrifice than which none more notable, none more noble, has been recorded in the annals of English history. Certainly, he had the ambition earnestly to sue for place of some sort, where he might gain profitable employment for his support. Yet here was a man of the highest social position, of the rarest intellect, desiring work, but despairing of it, burning with desire to amend laws and reform abuses; ready to labour for the good of his country, but left for years with the barest means, whether of keeping up his social position or of actual subsistence; again and again left out of office and employment by the jealousies of official personages and relations, and he was often reduced to the greatest straits. A reasonable cause for the determined, persistent refusal of Lord Burleigh, and of the Queen, to advance Francis Bacon has not yet been proved. Doubtless it arose from State complications of which no account could openly be given. It might merely be the knowledge that his promotion would cause difficulties and jealousies with other influential persons. It has been attributed to the enmity which existed between Sir Robert Cecil and the Earl of Essex, who was a confrere of Bacon's, but there were certainly other and deeper reasons.

When at last Bacon was called to office he performed his duties with such exemplary diligence and justice as to prove the truth of all that has ever been said in his favour, and to gain the admiration of all except a few powerful partisans, whose personal interests became endangered, and who eventually succeeded in taking advantage of a false accusation of misdemeanour, from which his character has not yet wholly recovered. In cleansing the Augean stables he was naturally, and mercilessly attacked by those who had hitherto tended them. That he should escape wholly unscathed would have been a still greater wonder under the circumstances than that his heroism should have failed to meet with its due reward. There was a reticence in his manner, with a nervousness and a shyness which led to his being much misunderstood, and gave rise to an appearance of indecision. Macaulay's treatment of Bacon, it is true, is but little worse than that of some of his predecessors, such as we find in the preface to a "New Edition of the Essays," in 1813; except that Macaulay goes on to give illustrations of Bacon's assumed moral corruptness and

guilt ; which nevertheless, and even in accordance with his own statements, he fails to prove. All that he succeeds in proving is that Bacon would not suffer his friendship for the Earl of Essex to blind his eyes to the public safety and to the public welfare ; or to his own supreme sense of duty ; that although he went so far as to do what he could to restrain the folly of his friend, yet he would not appear as a partaker and abettor of it, by throwing his ægis of protection over one who, against his warnings and expostulations, had turned traitor to his Queen and country in an openly incited rebellion. Had Bacon spoken in his favour, Macaulay's imaginative indignation might have found more fitting and more worthy scope for his eloquent denunciations ; and he might then have shown himself more competent to express an unprejudiced opinion upon a question of exalted sentiment. The ablest and most conscientious counsel in the kingdom is denounced by Macaulay as treacherous and unfeeling towards his friend, simply because he performed without flinching his highest and most solemn duty in a manner, such as, at once, to subdue a smouldering sedition. Macaulay assumed that Bacon's affection should find expression in condoning a crime which must have been repulsive to his very nature ; that in order to serve his friend he should ignore his positive duty and smother his conscience ; that he should do that which would be popular amongst those whom Macaulay condemns as worthless and corrupt. It may be quite true, as Macaulay says, that the generous and ardent Earl had pleaded earnestly on behalf of Francis Bacon for the solicitorship—too earnestly, in fact, for success. And failing in this, he had even presented him with an estate. But so far as personal motives can be truly traced, even this must have been done partly from the sense of benefits received, or from a still more lively sense of favours to come. It may have been partly from a consciousness of undischarged debt which he owed to Antony as well as Francis, for years of assistance rendered without salary, and large expenses incurred during the period of Antony's employment as his secretary. Again, to quote in this matter, Macaulay's own deliberate verdict, "Nothing in the political conduct of Essex entitles him to esteem ; and the pity with which we regard his early and terrible end, is diminished by the consideration that he put to hazard the lives and fortunes of his most attached friends, and endeavoured to throw the whole country into confusion for objects purely personal." "His mind, naturally ardent, susceptible, disposed to admira-

tion of all that is good and beautiful, was fascinated by the genius and accomplishments of Bacon." Such is the friend for whom Macaulay claims Bacon's affectionate and unalienable attachment and regard; calling him cold, cruel, and faithless for not sacrificing his position, conscience, and honour, possibly his own life, to his defence. And yet Macaulay admits that Bacon had sincerely exerted himself to serve Essex, and that he did all in his power to dissuade him from accepting the government of Ireland, which proved such a disastrous failure; even as Bacon had forewarned him. And when Essex is accused of a capital crime, of which, according to Macaulay, from the nature of the circumstances, there could not be the smallest doubt that the Earl would be found guilty; Macaulay's fertile imagination forthwith discovers that Bacon was hard and callous, serving his own personal interests, sacrificing the sacred ties of friendship to his own personal ambition, because he fulfilled without fear or favour, probably with great and lifelong pain and sorrow, the duties of his official position. Thus it is that Bacon is said to have "employed all his rhetoric to shut out Essex from mercy when employed as counsel against his friend," a friend who had scorned his advice, and had out of a vain and reckless ambition, aimed at doing some deed of daring, ostensibly it may be for the freedom and honour of his country, and had hastened, though wholly unfitted for it, to undertake the government of Ireland which culminated in his overthrow; "of a deeply attached friend," who, by a treacherous trick, had succeeded in locking up the then Lord Keeper in an inner chamber, together with other high State officials, whilst he rushed out, sword in hand, with a band of his followers, to raise a rebellion on his own behalf, which he had been fomenting and fostering amongst the people against his Sovereign. Yet Macaulay poses in an attitude of lofty moral sentiment and maintains that Bacon should have sacrificed his conscience and his supreme sense of duty to private feeling. Bacon's first duty was only unflinchingly performed when he used his eloquence, his learning, and his power, to defend the honour of his Queen and country. Had he shrunk from this, a far graver indictment must have been made against him and with greater justice. He had failed himself to restrain Essex, and now to have condoned his treason, would have shown unjustifiable weakness in the execution of his duty, conducive to anything but his own honour, or the vindication of justice, and so far as we can judge, Bacon's very restraint of his

personal feelings must have been to him the most severe trial of his life.

Macaulay having thus made discovery of Bacon's sordid and ambitious motive, had no difficulty in finding further scope for his eloquence, in attributing similiar motives to other acts of Bacon's public life, a few years later, in which his character was assailed by unscrupulous and inculpated persons. He fancied he had discovered Bacon's cruelty in the torture of Peacham ; of which Bacon did not approve ; and with which he had nothing to do but to bear official witness of it ; of its uselessness and cruelty. At that period we know that all sorts of illegal practices, and all sorts of legal pretences, were brought into requisition, upon which the gravest doubts hung, whether as to their equity, their policy, or their utility ; upon which such profound judges as Coke and Bacon might well entertain very opposite opinions. Yet no account is taken by Macaulay of the very obvious difficulties to be encountered in the conduct of such cases, under existing conditions. At one fell swoop he will dispose of all Bacon's decisions and actions, judging them by alleged, but wholly unproved motives of sordid selfishness and ambition, instead of by the known and acknowledged superiority not only of his intellect, but of his moral and sympathetic instincts also. This is bad enough, but there is worse to come. Macaulay charges Bacon with corruptly receiving bribes for the perversion of justice ; and he interprets his confession and humiliation "as an unmistakable recognition and admission of his guilt." Whereas it was not so. It was a purely formal legal confession in order to avoid an unjust tribunal. Bacon's officials had persuaded a poor suitor named Aubrey that a present of £100 would set matters right with the Lord Chancellor, and the money was paid in. No evidence is adduced to show that Bacon knew personally anything about the transaction, or ever received the money, whereas there is good ground for saying, as is stated by Macaulay himself, that it was these officials who had misled the suitor, against whom "a killing sentence" was pronounced ; by the still impartial judge, notwithstanding their futile attempt to obtain a judgment in the suitor's favour. Then, excepting that a sum of £400 was involved, there was another charge of the same sort affording ample ground for dissatisfaction, and for the impeachment of the Court in the person of its chief. Well might an honourable and conscientious man in the highest position of responsibility be overwhelmed, and indeed crushed, even to confession of unconscious neglect,

by the discovery of such iniquity and corruption in his own Court, and by the false accusation brought against himself personally, by unscrupulous and remorseless enemies, seeking his overthrow in order to justify themselves. Well might he shrink from attempting a defence which could only show his inability to cope with the terrible state of things, resting, as mainly the evidence must, upon that of corrupted subordinates, and victimised suitors, who would have no scruple in sacrificing him in their own defence; whose evidence at the moment would be accepted rather than his own; and amongst whom would be moving—perhaps not openly—some such “friends” as Coke and Buckingham.

Macaulay says that Bacon was overwhelmed with shame and remorse at his guilt being discovered. But it was quite the contrary. He was overwhelmed with grief at the triumph of wrong, and his own unmerited humiliation. He was not conscious of guilt. He felt that the guilt of his officials had, in some way, been made to attach to himself. He confessed “that if it were a crime to receive the fees and presents which had customarily been paid into Court before the hearing of a case,” then he was guilty; but he protested that it was the system, not his conduct, nor his conscience, that was wrong and corrupt; that he had never received a bribe to pervert justice. The two cases quoted by Macaulay to prove his guilt, if they prove anything at all, go to prove the contrary.

According to the “Popular Encyclopedia,” “It must be allowed that he was actuated neither by avarice nor corruption of heart.” It was the Chancellor’s dependants who assured the poor suitors that all would be right. And thus it was that the accusation arose; and seeing how base and groundless the charges were, and how speedily the Lord Chancellor was released from his imprisonment in the Tower, and from the enforcement of his fines, it is but reasonable to suppose that the evidence against him could not be sustained without the inculcation of others in the crimes alleged against him, when he was accused before the House of Lords of having received money for grants of offices and privileges under the Seal of State.

But why should Bacon’s officers and hangers-on, or others perhaps higher in rank, and in more responsible positions, be charged with, or even be suspected of such nefarious practices, rather than Bacon himself? Let us listen to Lord Macaulay’s testimony as to this. He does not hesitate to tell us that “amongst men of rank, Bishops, Privy Councillors, Members of

Parliament, the whole history of that generation was full of the low actions of high people, and it was notorious that men exalted in rank were guilty of all sorts of corrupt practices." Yet history, as well as Macaulay, has lent its willing ear to calumnies cast, by such men as these, against the character, and the conduct of one who dared with all his might to oppose their evil doings. Even at this day a vindication of his true character is listened to with hesitating and uncertain acknowledgment. But if society at large were at that time in such a state of corruption, and lost to all sense of honesty and honour, except that of formal external politeness and gilded suasion, why should not Bacon himself be suspected of similar corruptions and extortions? Because it was he, and he alone, that grieved over the law's delays and the looseness of its administration; because he alone had, from the first, set himself to remedy the terrible abuses then existing. Thus it was that in the first year of his office he disposed of about 3,000 of the accumulated cases which had been interminably delayed, waiting for the negotiation of presents, fees and bribes, which had hitherto formed the moving impetus of the Court. And in his determination to put an end to the frightful scandals which disgraced the administration of the law when he came into office, he simply went straight on, administering justice, as has been shewn, regardless of any personal consideration, with a clear conscience and an unbiassed will; with such rapidity, judgment and effect; moreover, that only these cases of his decisions were reported to have been appealed against or reversed. And yet these cases, such as they have proved to be, have been treated as typical, instead of being, as they were, sole exceptions; and the guilty were ready to make confession of their own criminality in order to convict him. Well might he be crushed at the failure of his attempts to remedy the corrupt state of the Court, and at the ruin and disgrace brought upon him by his endeavours to execute impartial justice, irrespectively of every other consideration, when he gave his judgment whether wittingly or unwittingly against a bribing suitor. He did not "make confession of his guilt." He distinctly and unequivocally expressed his resolution "to indulge in no vain excuses if he should be found legally guilty of having been partaker of the abuses of his times." And he afterwards protests modestly to the King "I have not the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart, in a depraved habit of taking reward to pervert justice—howsoever I be frail and partaker

of the abuses of the times." And again he says "The law of nature teaches me to speak in my own defence. With respect to this charge of bribery I am as innocent as any born on S. Innocent's day. I never had a bribe or reward in my eye or thought, when pronouncing judgment or order." From all this and from the fact that the bribing suitors would not scruple to come forward against him in the panic which they themselves had created, it is pretty certain that if an unjust judgment had been given by him in favour of the bribing suitors, instead of against them, no more would have been heard of it.

In inflicting such heavy penalties on Bacon, says Macaulay, "the Lords had an excellent opportunity of exhibiting at small cost, the inflexibility of their justice, and their abhorrence of corruption;" at small cost truly to themselves, but not so to Bacon. In pronouncing judgment upon him, and increasing his punishment, it would seem that the Lords themselves were not wholly unconscious of subsidiary motives of some sort.

Macaulay, in his efforts to make use of forcible language, did not scruple to construct exaggerated antithesis in the character of his subject; which led to that impression of unfairness with which he is so commonly credited in his historical characters and historical incidents. In this case, certainly, if they were but true, or consistent, his antitheses would be very striking and very telling. He laments that we are "compelled to regard Bacon's character with mingled contempt and admiration, with mingled gratitude and aversion." And "we must" he says, "regret that there should be so many proofs of the meanness and selfishness of a heart, the benevolence of which was yet large enough to take in all races and all ages." And again, "We must blush for the disingenuousness of the most devoted worshipper of speculative truth; for the servility of the boldest champion of intellectual freedom." Surely eloquence is utterly degraded by such speculative antitheses. In some respects Macaulay appears to appreciate Bacon's character and Bacon's work. He speaks of him as expending his mighty powers in reducing to order the chaotic mass of English Law. But he then goes on straightway to accuse him of "perverting these laws to the vilest uses of tyranny." He remarks, however, that there was one act, and this "the only good one of his long life, as far as we remember, of real service to letters. He manfully saved the noblest place of

education in England (that is Trinity College, Cambridge), from the degrading fate of King's College or New College." We will not ask of these colleges at the present day how deeply they may feel their state of degradation, whether under their founder's charter, or beneath this withering sneer. The salvation of Trinity may or may not be attributed to Bacon, but we can only modestly marvel whether at the innocence, or at the amazing audacity, of thus ignoring and repudiating the value of the literary life-work of one who did more "of real service to letters" than all others of his day, and of many subsequent days put together.

Now let us return to what may be gathered of some special characteristics of Bacon's life from written testimony. Apart from the prejudiced account of modern writers, we have no reason to suppose that he would depart from the great truths which he enunciated, and which he desired to teach. Three remarkable characteristics may be traced in contemporary history, which have met with little or no recognition; which by several modern writers, who profess to have studied his works and his conduct the most deeply, have been positively denied or ridiculed as absurd. First, there is his poetic genius and power; his high appreciation of dramatic poesy; and of stage representation; secondly, his strong advocacy, and his own large use, of commonplace books, as legitimate and important aids in literary composition; and thirdly, his high estimate of reticence, amounting in his own case to systematic and positive concealment when discovery might attract notice, or bring him repute as a poet. Various contemporary writers attest to his truly poetic conceptions and power; some have indicated their knowledge of certain works, which, if in existence have not yet been discovered, or at any rate have not as yet been generally recognised as his. There is correspondence with some of his intimate friends, whom he styles his kind inquisitors, to whom apparently certain works were submitted for criticism without any direct intimation to us of their title or subject. Of only two of these has any intimation been made, and of these by his friend Sir Tobie Matthew, who in the postscript of a letter, returning his MS. remarks in a punning if ambiguous manner, "I return you not weight for weight, but measure for measure." His philosophic mind led him to analyse the nature and structure of poesy, wherein he clearly shows, as does Dryden subsequently, his high appreciation of its purpose and value. This by no means certainly

indicates a lack of poetic taste or power. To quote his own words, "The reason why poesy is so agreeable to the spirit of man is that he has a craving for a more perfect order and a more beautiful variety than can be found in nature since the fall. Therefore, since the acts and events of real history are not grand enough to satisfy the human mind, poesy is at hand to feign acts more heroical. Since the issues of action in real life are far from agreeing with the merits of virtue and vice, poesy corrects history exhibiting events and fortunes as according to merit and the law of Providence. Since true history wearies the mind with common events, poetry refreshes it by reciting things more unexpected and various. So that this poetry conduces not only to delight, but to magnanimity and morality. Whence it may fairly be thought to partake somewhat of a Divine nature, because it raises the mind aloft, accommodating the shows of things to the desires of the mind, not (like reason and history) buckling and bowing down the mind to the reason of things. By these charms and that agreeable congruity which it hath with man's nature, accompanied also with music, to gain more sweet access, poesy has so won its way as to have been held in honour even in the rudest ages and amongst barbarous people, when other kind of learning were utterly excluded." It may be as truly said, however, that, on the other hand, a philosophic treatise on poetry does not prove a man a poet, which can be demonstrated only by the fire or the failure of the composition itself. By some it is persistently denied that Bacon could write poetry. They venture upon a negative argument notwithstanding his keen perception of the true nature of poesy; notwithstanding his masterly use of poetic language; notwithstanding the appreciation with which his personal friends regarded him as a poet of the highest order although "concealed." The concealment of his own name as a poet is something too strange to be understood and credited in these days of display when the absence of reserve is almost accounted a virtue. This interesting and substantial characteristic, in his love of the Drama, was indicated in his early days in his having not only written, but taken an active part in the performance of devices, plays and masques, to the great distress of Lady Anne Bacon, and to the great delight of the Society of Gray's Inn.

And from what he says in his letters and elsewhere, he devoted all the time that he could spare from his public duties to such literature, in writing works of his "invention and recreation."

According to Spedding, he is known to have written sonnets, not only that he might himself present them to the Queen, but he wrote for Essex also. According to Spedding, moreover, he possessed "all the natural faculties which a poet should possess, a true ear for music, a fine feeling for imaginative effect in words, and a vein of poetic passion—none could well be fitted with imagery words and rhythm, more apt and imaginative; and in him there was a tenderness of expression which comes manifestly from the heart in sensitive sympathy with nature." Ben Jonson says of him, "It is he who hath filled up all numbers, and performed that in our tongue which may be compared or preferred, either to insolent Greece or haughty Rome, so that he may be named the mark and acme of our language." Whatever may be said of it by the modern critic, the expression "all numbers" can have been used only in the old classic sense of supplying to the full the perfection of rhythm and harmony in all that he wrote; that his poetry was indeed, and in effect, classical. There was no one but Ben Johnson, his secretary and amanuensis, and perhaps his Chaplain, Dr. Rawley, who could have the same intimate knowledge of what Bacon really was, and what he performed in these respects; and Jonson knew him as possessing the most profound knowledge and the most versatile genius of his own or of any other age. Bacon takes pains to denominate his works of imagination and recreation as fruits of his "invention;" as equivalent to "poems." He carefully excludes the idea that he meant works of his scientific experiment. And, both by himself and his friends, the works are alluded to, not openly but only by guarded and mysterious inferences. He is spoken of as endowed with the poetic faculty in a high degree, and in several instances as a "concealed poet." He would not be spoken of as a poet unless he wrote poetry, nor as a "concealed poet" if his poetry were published abroad in his own name. He translated the Book of Psalms into English verse. There was no concealment of mystery about this. It has been quoted by some as a clear indication of his inability to write poetry. But there was no attempt in this to invoke the poetic muse. There was no idea of "invention" or "poema" about it though the Psalms themselves contain abundance of poetic thought and feeling. It was merely a devotional exercise on a bed of sickness, not a poetic exploit. The literal translation of Hebrew poetry into English verse would not be likely to give much scope for the exercise of the "maker's" power, however full the originals might be of

poetic thought and rich imagery. It is, moreover, a task which has baffled other poets since his day. It cannot be regarded at all as a true specimen of his poetry. And judgment has been passed on his poetic powers, in the absence of all generally accepted knowledge of what his works were.

There is in this connection a remarkable coincidence, capable of course of more than one interpretation. It seems almost a mystery in Bacon's life, considering his high estimate of dramatic poesy and dramatic art, and it has been deemed no less than a marvel, that he should never once mention, never allude to in any way, in letter or otherwise, the name or the productions of one who has been called his great rival in the domain of literature. He never once recognises his existence, or the wondrous merit of his works. And it may well seem incredible and almost impossible that the greatest man of letters of his age should altogether ignore the existence and the works of a greatly valued friend, as he has been called, of a contemporary poet, of a genius of such transcendent merit, of such astonishing beauty and resource. So remarkable did it seem to Samuel Taylor Coleridge that he attributed it to an unfair coldness and invidiousness. He remarks that Bacon "seems to have disdained to learn either the existence or the name of Shakespeare. At this conduct no one can be surprised who has studied the life of this

Wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind."

Even when upholding the theatre and its beneficial influence as a means of improving manners and letters, and of conveying instruction in history and politics, Bacon does not once allude to Shakespeare, or the Shakespeare Plays; not even whilst deploring the degradation of the stage, or pleading for dramatic poetry as "history made visible;" as "truly noble" with a special relation "to the dignity of human nature."

Then secondly there is his persistent advocacy and use of commonplace books which in him was quite a characteristic. At Winchester this is a marked voluntary feature of tradition in the education even down to the present day. Dean Church tells us of Bacon's habit of writing down words and phrases, terse sayings or metaphors, for future use in his compositions. And he instances a notebook written to form part of a masque entitled, "A Praise of Knowledge" and another on the "Praise of the Queen." Spedding speaks of this as illustrative of Bacon's manner of working. And there is in the British Museum, a manuscript folio, in Bacon's own handwriting, of

"Formularies and Elegancies" compiled by him for some special literary purpose, of which, however, he gives no special indication. But it does not appear that either the ideas or the phrases therein collected can be traced, except perhaps rarely, in any of his generally received works.

And thirdly there was his pervading spirit of concealment and secrecy in what he did. He was not a philosophic humbug. He carried out in his life his own principles and his own teaching. He quoted from Proverbs "The prudent man concealeth knowledge." And then he makes note, "It is wisdom to conceal our meaning." "The glory of God is to conceal a thing and the glory of man is to find it out."

In this connection it will be well to speak of the cypher writing which, at that period was so frequently employed and by Bacon very largely. The cypher writing was commonly used at that time for secret political correspondence or intrigue. There are several hundreds of letters written in cypher in the library of Lambeth Palace, in certain of which, at any rate his name appears. Several of these have been deciphered. One of them, written in French, from a Scotsman, to Antony Bacon, contains certain, mysterious, figurative expressions incomprehensible except to those initiated, such as the "parabloic rose," "XXI.," "Erato," "The bride," "The hermit," "The academics," "The peripatetics," "The wellbeloved."* Reference is here made evidently to some political or polemical matter. Cryptogram was used by him for the purpose also of historical record of information, to succeeding generations, of matters which could not politically, or indeed safely, be published in the lifetime of the author. Such cryptogram is discoverable in Bacon's known works, such as "The Sylva Sylarum" and the "New Atlantis," and in fact in all that he wrote. He devised six several systems of cypher writing and cryptogram, and transmitted instructions in his "Advancement of Learning," to such as should have ability and opportunity, patience and perseverance, at a future day, to decipher them. The first modern attempts to decipher his works, necessarily were somewhat uncertain and tentative; and still more so were some of the early criticisms of them. But a definite scientific method has been made out, in careful accordance with directions left by him. Thus a cryptogram concealed in ten pages of the

* Note "XXI." stood as a crypto-sign for Francis Bacon himself, who must have been a principal mover in this business; for in this letter it is stated that XXI. praises us, and praises us over again, for our past services.

"*Novum Organum*" has been from photo facsimile copies deciphered in exactly the same words by different persons separately. This, of course, cannot be accepted, until it shall have been thoroughly and scientifically tested and guaranteed by well-known, learned, mathematical experts.

Then again we know that in Bacon's day, whether he founded it or not, there was in existence a secret guild or brotherhood established for two specific purposes. One was for study of the secret science of numbers, or in other words of cypher writing, in which compounded numbers were made the equivalents of letters and words. The other was to organise a system of anonymous publication. We learn this from an apologist, "John Hayden, a brother," who gives in detail the rules and objects of the guild, whilst carefully concealing all account of the work which was published by its members. The number of the members, including apprentices was sixty-three, a multiple of nine with seven, commencing however with only an Imperator and three brethren. All were under a solemn oath of secrecy, even to death itself, for one hundred years, not to divulge the names of themselves or others as members of it; or their operations. Any work which they might wish to publish as members of the guild they must in no case publish with their own name as author, but under a pseudonym or initials, not under their own initials, nor under any form by which the writer might be identified. All must be published anonymously! Amongst this number must have been initiated publishers and printers. Without this the work could not have been efficiently carried on, not its secrets safely kept. And some of them may have been employed by Bacon in working out the ingenious and elaborate process of reducing to accurate order in the several special editions of his works, such facts and information as it was intended to record. Bacon's determined and systematic concealment is indicated in a correspondence, wherein for instance, in writing to the Earl of Pembroke, and to the King, he speaks of himself as "your concealed poet." And in several instances he and others speak of a hidden authorship as known only to certain others beside himself, in terms which can apply only to himself in their mysterious meaning. He never alludes, as author, to any poem, or poems, of his, which would reveal his authorship. His intimates moreover are careful to abstain from doing so, although they show themselves aware of the existence of such. And in their private correspondence with him,

they employ ambiguous phrases, in a hidden manner, to be understood alone by such as were initiated into his secrets.

The fact of ambiguous and mysterious allusions, and of reference to matters understood by his correspondents, is clearly indicated when in a letter to Sir Tobie Matthew he mentions his "alphabet" as a class of work, which, without any special name he speaks of as "other works" and works of his "recreation" as a material branch of his literature. And at another time he speaks of his head being wholly employed upon "invention." He laments his unfitness for legal and political employments, as being out of his province, though needful for competence, and he grudges the time occupied by them when his desires were for literature. He says despondingly, "The law drinketh too much time which I have devoted to other purposes." Spedding tells us that Bacon would send his writings also to Bishop Andrews, the great Divine, the learned and pious Theologian of the day, for him "to mark whatever should seem to him not current in the style, or harsh to credit an opinion, or inconvenient for the person of the writer," or in other words likely to provoke antagonism. There was in Bacon's philosophy a Divinity which raised him above other learned men. He sought out Divine ideas and Divine methods; one of the chiefest being as has been said, what he calls, "working in secret, slowly, quietly, persistently."

Another important, and interesting, phase of Bacon's life, of which in a secret society, but little can be learnt, is to be found in his connection with Rosicrucians, philosophers of the occult sciences, Alchemists, Cabalists, Theosophists and other sects, with whose works, we read, at that day Germany was flooded. In any case the name of "Sir Francis Bacon" occurs in a Rosicrucian document published in Italy, between the years 1603 and 1613, as Secretary to the fraternity, and as pre-eminent among the philosophers. He is found also, in cypher, in a document published in German and Latin, emanating from him as "Francis S. Alba," but under the signature of "Rose Cross, Fra" or brother. He allied himself to these, and learnt the wanderings of their vain philosophies, with the view to their entire regeneration by bringing them into the embrace of Christianity and true religion. This would be one branch of the grand task which in his youth he undertook to fulfil, in the general reformation of the wide world. And apparently it was to teach this lesson that the feigned historical allegories were written, of the "Fama Fraternitatis" of the meritorious order of the Rosie

Cross ; and "The Hermetic Romance, or Chemical Wedding." Herein is shown how that, out of a seething mass of humanity, huddled together in the dark dungeon of ignorance, in which each is struggling to secure his own position, regardless of his fellows, they were lifted up one by one into the joys of true freedom and the pure light of day ; and that, after due preparation, they were admitted to the wedding of the Celestial Queen.

Both Bacon and his friends, when not writing in cypher, indulged very largely in metaphorical and ambiguous language, to be understood only of each other. Sir Tobie Matthew writes in a postscript to a business letter, "The most prodigious wit that ever I knew was of your Lordship's name though he be known by another."

Bacon had grasped the spirit of the precept, "Do not your righteousness before men to be seen of them." In his writings he sought not the applause of men. Still less would he cater for it. His sole, his highest aim, was to do his duty to his Creator in a way that should the most benefit his fellow men, by the increase and spread of knowledge. We may be able to prove nothing directly as to the fact of how much he wrote, or what he wrote anonymously or under a feigned name. All that we can be sure of is as to the possibilities, within his reach, of writing and publishing anonymously, and to almost any extent ; as well as of concealing the fact from the knowledge of some of his intimate friends. He would not write for reputation, but only for the edification and instruction of others. In a preface to the "*Sylva Sylvarum*," Dr. Rawley writes, "I have heard his Lordship often say that if he had served the glory of his own name he had better not have published this Natural History ; for it may seem an indigested heap of particulars, and cannot have that lustre, which books cast into methods have. But that he resolved to prefer the good of men, and that which might best secure it, before anything that he might have in relation to himself."

He carried out in his life the principles which he taught. And what especially were those principles, and what was his teaching ? We have it in his own words when he says :— "The greatest error is the mistaking of the true end of knowledge. For men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes for ornament and reputation ; sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction ; and most times for lucre and profession, but seldom to give a true

account of their gift of reason, to the benefit and use of men ; as if there were sought in knowledge a commanding ground for strife and contention ; or a shop for profit and sale and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate." What nobler words could testify to the greatness of an author of such vast resource ? This glory of the Creator, and this relief of man's estate, were the true aim of his whole life ; and he would not sully it by seeking popular applause. He would rather say with the saintly Christian poet (who also published without his name what proved to be one of the most popular volumes of English verse ever written):—

"I know thy flatteries and thy cheating ways ;
Be silent praise ;
Blind guide with siren voice, and blinding all
That hear thy call."

or in a similar strain—like the joyous nightingales, retiring from sight into the shade of

"The greenest, darkest tree ;
There they plunge, the light declining,
All may hear, but none may see."

To the would-be popular author and the public at large, this may appear unintelligible, and hence incredible. But to Francis Bacon it was otherwise, he being, to use his own words, "not as a man born under Sol, that loveth honour." Yet the more his character and life, as exhibited in his writings and his conduct are studied, the more are discovered the proofs of his greatness and goodness, which ought to be historically and gratefully commemorated. The damage, or loss of name to a noble life is a loss to the whole community. True sympathy with greatness and goodness is far more elevating than the most righteous contempt for depravity. It has been well observed, "we can regard a national character in the light of a friend whom we admire and esteem ; and of whom the recollection may be a great force to save us from evil, and to prompt us to good. Influence is the greatest of all human gifts, and we all have it in some measure." This is most true. Influence is indeed a sacred trust. It is this which gives to our smallest acts, whether of selfishness or of consideration for others, of vanity or of humility, of anger or of self-control, an importance which cannot be over-estimated. It is this which presses us forward in our earnest endeavour to present in its true and proper light the noblest life, the finest character, in the History of English literature.

STENOGRAPHY, OR "SHORT-HAND" WRITING IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

IT appears that an argument against the possibility of Francis St. Alban being the author of all that has been claimed for him, is based upon at least one great fallacy, namely, that Francis St. Alban could not have transmitted his thoughts and conceptions (as some of us maintain that he did) *verbally*, so that his utterances could be taken down in "short-hand" by some of his secretaries. "*It is,*" says one correspondent, "*the general belief that there were no 'short-hand' methods in those days, and that transcribing as well as printing was a slow and laborious process,—and we cannot make people believe to the contrary.*"

The present lines are written not with the intention of giving a history of stenography, but in order once and for all to do away with this mistaken idea amongst our own circle of readers, however much the erroneous belief may remain with "the general."

The first *English* book on Stenography seems to have been that published by T. Bright, in 1588. Here we may pause to note three particulars:

1. T. Bright was Dr. Timothy Bright, under whose name the "*Anatomy of Melancholy*," was first published in 1587. This edition is entered in the British Museum Catalogue as the work of T. Bright. The subsequent editions take no notice of Bright, but are published in the name of Burton.—"What's in a name?"—In the introduction to the "*Biliteral Cipher of Francis Bacon*" the Editor, calling attention to these facts adds that "The Cipher mentions both *Bright* and *Burton* as names under which 'Bacon' wrote the book, and also that the different editions contain each a different cipher story."

2. "T. Bright" dedicated his book on short-hand writing to Queen Elizabeth, with the title "Characterie, or the Art of Short, Swift and Secret Writing."

3. At the time of the publication of this book, Francis was 27 years of age, and passing through a period of the greatest leisure which he ever enjoyed. From 1586 to 1590 there is hardly a trace of his doings, but the press was teeming with and issuing works of all kinds—the English Renaissance had begun.

To the Treatise on Short Writing of 1588, there followed

"*The Writing School-master*," by "Peter Bale." Here we are told that "Brachygraphy, or the art of writing as fast as a man speaketh treatably, may in appearance seem difficult, but it is in effect very easy, containing a many commodities under a few principles, the shortness whereof is obtained by memory, the swiftness by practice, the sweetness by industry." A most Baconian utterance suggestive of its true source. The date of this book is 1590.

The next attempt towards improvement in the art seems to have been printed in 1602 by "John Willis." It was entitled "*The Art of Stenographie or Short Writing by Spelling Characterie*" and after this had passed through numerous editions, a fresh treatise was published by Edmund Willis, in 1618, and two more in 1630, by Witt and Dix. These few facts must surely be sufficient to prove that short-hand writing began and flourished in the reign of Elizabeth, and was vigorously used and improved upon during the 16th and 17th centuries.

That Francis not only first introduced the art, but that he made good use of it the present writer does not for an instant doubt. The scanty records *published* of his mysterious private life seem in many places to hint, although they do not plainly affirm that this was the case.

Hear the saying of Dr. Rawley, when describing his master's habits of perpetual industry and the delight of his conversation.

"His meals were refections of the ear as well as of the stomach, like the *Noctes Atticæ*, or *Conviviæ Deipno-sophistarum*, wherein a man might be refreshed in his mind and understanding no less than in his body. *And I have known some, of no mean parts, that have professed to make use of their note-books when they have risen from his table*" (so they went prepared with note-books).

Peter Boehner, private secretary and medical attendant to Francis "Bacon" describes how in the morning he would call him or some other of his secretaries to his bedside, and how they wrote down from his lips the thoughts and ideas which he had conceived in the night. Had this process been so "slow and laborious" as the general belief is supposed to warrant, our indefatigable and nimble-minded author would have had to pass most of his days in bed. On the contrary, we think it far more probable that the amanuensis could write as fast as a man could speak "treatably," or in other words slowly and with deliberation, as (in the *Short Notes for Civil*

Conversation) he enjoins upon others who would speak pleasantly and to be understood. "In all kinds of speech . . . it is convenient to speak leisurely, and rather drawingly than hastily"—giving as one reason for this, that "a slow speech confirmeth the memory." Doubtless it is a great help to the writer from dictation.

Now if Francis did from the age of, say 25, dictate to his short-hand writers the thoughts which followed each other through his wonderful brain, his reflections on the philosophies which he was studying, his comments upon books which he read, notes and sketches of proposed works, or revised matter ready for the press—if he seldom put pen to paper, but in elbow chair, with head resting on his hand (and "thus he sat") dictated in the abundance of his full heart and mind to his expert short-hand writers, they in due course transcribing and writing fair the sheets which he had but read, and if needful to correct and polish—what a mass of matter could he thus have produced and given to the world under any name but his own! Would that our own thoughts and utterances were worthy of a like method of preservation. We could then exclaim with Armado in *Love's Labour's Lost*:—

"Devise wit; write pen; for I am for whole volumes in folio."

A PEEP BEHIND THE CURTAIN OF THE DARK.

AT a time when many intelligent minds are engaged upon the question, "Was Queen Elizabeth a married woman?" it seems desirable to print for the benefit of those who cannot make researches for themselves, extracts from books whose authors have entered into such researches with a view to throwing light into the dark places of history. For such as desire to verify, or to test the accuracy of published history, the following extract must prove interesting. It is taken from a book entitled, "Glimpses of our Sussex Ancestors," by Charles Fleet. Published by Farncombe and Company, Printers, *East Sussex News Office*, Lewes. 1883.

Readers of *BACONIANA* will, however, remember that reference was given in the July Number (Vol. vi., 1899), to Arthur Gunter's "Submission," concerning the death of Amy Robsart, his "Information" concerning the same and his

"Declaration" concerning the report that the Queen would marry Lord Robert Dudley. All of these are in Part VI. of the Hatfield, or Cecil MSS., Vol i. 252—257 and 792—811.

In Vol. ii. 165—170, is the letter from Baptista di Trento to Queen Elizabeth, telling her that the Earl of Leicester intended to make himself King of England by a marriage with her. (We reprint these references lest present readers should have failed to see them).

The subjects of the following extracts are:—(1) The probability that the Queen will marry Leicester; (2) Of her stopping and supping at his house; (3) The danger to anyone who may mention this; (4) The rivalry between the Reformed and Papal Churches—Leicester representing the former.

Re Queen Elizabeth's probable marriage to Leicester—the Queen at supper at his house, circ. 1560. Extract from "Glimpses of our Sussex Ancestors," by Charles Fleet. Second Series. Published by Farncombe and Company, Printers, East Sussex News Office, Lewes. 1883.

Chapter on "Liberty of Speech in Sussex, in Times Past and Present," page 172.

. . . In the days when men did not write and print so much as they do now, they had to be much more careful about what they spoke. . . . In our Sussex annals, so carefully collected by the members of the Archæological Society, we find some striking instances of the state of things to which we are adverting and of the danger which our ancestors ran in allowing their tongues to run too idly. Both the Crown and the aristocracy, nay the class below the nobility, had the power to call such offenders to a strict account. There was a special Court to take account of any words in derogation of the honour, or rank, or character of the upper classes uttered by the coarse-speaking rural or mechanic class; and a man might find himself "clapt up by the heels" in a very summary fashion for criticizing the appearance or expressing his opinion of the conduct or character of his grander neighbour in a style that would now excite no notice or only call forth a laugh.

But to our Sussex instances. The first has reference to Queen Elizabeth, and if our readers exclaim with Puff, in the "Critic," "No scandal I hope of Queen Elizabeth," we must leave them to form their own opinion on that point. *She* herself did think there was scandal in it, and that her liege sub-

jects had no right to indulge in idle gossip at her expense. Only think if Queen Victoria could bring to account all the idle tongues who have indulged in idle tales . . . what an opening and shutting of prison gates, perhaps a shortening of ears and noses, to say nothing of heavy fines and long imprisonments there would have been !

If the reader doubts let him note the fate which befel *Arthur Gunter*, ancestor of Col. Gunter, of *Racton*, in West Sussex. . . . This Arthur seems to have been over fond of gossip, and one day when he "chaunced to be a huntynge with divers gentlemen" (we quote his own words) "I fell in Taulcke with a "Jentleman named Mr. George Cotton, who told me that hyt chaunced the Queen's Hynes to be at supper on a tyme at my Lord Robert's House, wheare hyt chaunced Hyr Hyghness to be nyghted homeward, and as hyr grace was going homeward by Torchelyght, hyr Hyghness fell in Taulcke with them that carried the Torches and seyde that hyr grace wolde make ther Lorde the best that ever whas of hys name. Whereuppon, I seyde, that hyr Grace must macke him a Dewke, and he said that the Reporte was that Hyr Hyghness sholde marry him, and I answered, I pray God all men may tacke hyt well that there might ryse no troble thereof, and so I have seyde to dyvers others synce that tyme."

Whereby Arthur Gounter (or Gunter) did manifest that he was a very indiscreet individual, and that it would have been better for him if he had held his tongue ; for if trees have tongues, so have they ears, and this "taulcke" in the Sussex hunting field came, in time, to the knowledge of the Royal lady whom it concerned, and not a little wroth, doubtless was she that "base churls" should make free with her maiden fame and her intentions towards matrimony or otherwise. So indeed Master Gounter found out, for he was speedily "clapt up by the heels," in other words, incarcerated, and made to speak out more plainly as to what he meant by the above "taulcke" and here upon he made the following :—

"Confessions of A. Gunter concerning Lord Robert Dudley (Earl of Leicester).

"Pleseth your Honor, further to understande that the sayde Mr. George Cotton seyde, that hyt was rumoured heretofore ; that my Lord my Master (the Earl of Leicester) shoold have maryed the Quene's Hyghnes ; and I seyde that yf hyt pleased hyr Hynes, I thought him as mette a man as any in Inglande ; and further he asked me, yf I herde of any Parlement towarde ; and I seyde, No ; but yf ther wer eny, I thynke every noble-

man wyll geve his opynion, and then they that be my Lord Robert's friends wyll seye that he is a mette man ; and so hyt may fortune there wyll rysse troble among the noblemen ; which God forbede. And then he asked me, who was my Lorde's friends ? and I seyde, my Lorde Markes of Northampton ; my Lorde of Pembroke ; Mr. Treasurer ; Mr. Lacfeld, with many others. Further, I seyde, I trust the *Whyght Horse*,* will be quiet and so shall we be out of troble ; hyt is well-knownen hys Blode as yette whas never attaynte, nor he was ever a man of warr, wherefor ys hyt lycke, that we shall syt still ; but if he shoole stomache hyt, he were able to make a great power. All these things befoore rehearseed, I have spoken unto dyvers other, as unto Mr. Robert Palmer, Mr. Stowton, Mr. Benyon, and others. Further, as touchynge my Lord Robert, I have seyde to Mr. Cottone that I thought hym to be the cause that my Lord my Master (the Earl of Arundel) might not marry the Quene's Hyghnes, wherefor I wolde that he had bene put to dethe with his father or that some roffen wolde have dyspatched hym by the way as he has gone, with some dagge or gonne. Farther, I seyde, that yf hyt chaunced my Lord Robert to marry the Quene's Hyghnes, then I dowted whether he wolde remember my owlde matter passed heartofore, and so be turned unto my Lord my Master's displeasure and hindrance.

"By me,

"ARTHUR GOUNTER."

A good deal of these "Confessions" is not very intelligible to us at the present day. But it is obvious that it had *reference to the Queen's marriage* either with the Earl of Arundel (the "*White Horse*") or Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, and that the sudden and mysterious death of the wife of the latter, the ill-fated Amy Robsart, happened about this time, and had its bearing on the reports afloat, for in one of the *Hatfield MSS.* under the date 1560, occurs this entry :—
 "The saying of *Arthur Gunter to George Cotton* that ere this *my Lord Robert's wife is dead, and she broke her neck.* It is in a number of heads that the Queen will marry him. If she do you will see a great stir, for my Lord Arundel is sure of the Earl of Pembroke, and the Lord Rich, with divers others ; to be ready with the putting up of his finger ; and then *you shall see the White Horse bestir him* ; for my Lord is of great power, but a man shall have a ruffian with a dag to dispatch him out

of a shop." Oct. 26th, 1560. *Hatfield MSS.*, Vol. i. p. 253, No. 80r.

Gunter, it is evident, was a follower of the "*White Horse*," the *Norfolk*, or *Catholic* interest, whilst *Leicester* was the head of the *Protestant party* with a tendency to *Puritanism*. So that in this "*taulcke*" between two gentlemen "*huntynge*" in *Sussex* the *deadly rivalry* of two *great religious parties* was doubtless, shadowed forth. So indeed might it be in the present day without that danger to body and estate which *Arthur Gunter* ran and from the consequences of which he narrowly escaped. For as our *Chronicler* tells us, after being incarcerated and questioned, he was only pardoned on making a written "*Confession*" in which he declared that for the "*unfytting wordes*" uttered by him, he had been "*most worthely punished*," and was "*very hartely sorry*," that the like should never again enter into his heart, and much less pass his mouth; and that he would study, by all means, to "*re-duble and recompense*" his former offence.

From *Chalmer's Biographical Dictionary*. Articles on *Robert Dudley*, Earl of *Leicester*, and his father, Duke of *Northumberland*, and brothers *Lord Warwold*, and *Ambrose Dudley*. Vol xii. pages 396—414.

In a note to a passage referring to *Leicester's* ambition, his great abilities, his persecution of *Archbishop Quindal* . . . "*his power and influence becoming almost incredible*" . . . is this.

As to *his* power in the State, we may form an idea of that from the observance shown him when he visited *Buxton Wells*, by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, one of the ancientest Peers in the kingdom and from the sense which the *Queen* expressed of the Earl's behaviour in the following letter written with her own hand which contains perhaps as high a testimony of favour as ever was expressed by a Sovereign to a subject.

"Elizabeth.

"Our very good cousin being given to understand from our cousin of *Leicester*, how honourably he was not only lately received by you, our cousin, and the Countess of *Chatsworth*, and his diet by you both discharged at *Buxton's*, but also presented with a very rare present; we should do him great wrong, holding him in that place of favour we do, in case we should not let you understand in how thankful sort we accept the same at both your hands, not as done unto him, but unto our ownself reputing him as another ourself. And therefore you may assure yourself that we, taking upon as the debt, not as *his*, but our own, will take care accordingly to discharge in such honourable sort as so well-deserving creditors as ye are shall never have cause to think ye have met with an unthankful debtor," &c.

Here ends the note from Chalmer's Dictionary. The winding up of Queen Elizabeth's letter is not given, nor is reference made to the collection from which the letter was copied. But surely the expressions used by Elizabeth with regard to Leicester, that *he is another herself*, that *the debt is not his, but hers*, are such as no royal lady could use excepting in speaking of her husband or her son. Such expressions if uttered or written under similar circumstances, would be held by any ordinary hearer or reader to be tantamount to an acknowledgement of a marriage between the personages in question.

J. T. F.

"ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA," AND "JULIUS CÆSAR."

NOTHING is more certain, than that the Play of *Antony and Cleopatra* was composed, with an entirely ethical purpose of portraying the calamities and disasters, that accompany inordinate and irregular love, and how it "*interferes with fortune*," as Bacon remarks in his Essay upon this passion of Love. The sermon is written large, and the text might be—"More bitter than death, the woman whose heart is snares, and nets, and her hands as bands." Observe the moral motive is not merely contingent, or as we intend to say, *an after thought of the Poet*, but governs the Play from first to last, the opening keynote of Antony's weakness being struck immediately as follows :—

Nay, but this dotage of our general's
O'erflows the measure. Those his goodly eyes,
That o'er the files and musters of the war
Have glowed like plated Mars, now bend, now turn,
The office and devotion of their view
Upon a tawny front. His Captain's heart,
Which in the scuffles of great fights hath burst,
The buckles on his breast, reneges all temper,
And is become the bellows and the fan
To cool a gipsy's lust.

Look where they come,
Take, but good note and you shall see in him ;
The triple pillar of the world transformed,
Into a strumpets fool.—Act I. i.

This indeed is the central key motive of the Play, which crops out continually, in various contexts descriptive of Antony's character, one of which, we quote, is made by Octavius Cæsar :—

You shall find there,
A man who is *the abstract of all faults* ;
That all men follow.—Act I. iv. 7.

This is an important text, because it illustrates the intention of the Poet, to furnish through the character of Mark Antony, an exemplar, or abstract, of some very common and besetting sins of men, and particularly of the one sin which ruined Antony.

Octavius Cæsar tells us what Antony's faults were :—

To give a kingdom for a mirth, to sit,
And keep the turn of *tippling* with a slave.—Act I. iv.

He fishes, *drinks*, and wastes,
The lamps of night in revel ; is not more manlike
Than Cleopatra (*Ib.*)

And after the defeat of Actium, Scarus exclaims :—

The greater cantle of the world is lost,
With every ignorance ; *we have kissed away**
Kingdoms and provinces.—Act III. x.

Indeed the complete subjection of Antony to Cleopatra, was fully recognized by his soldiers and generals. Canidius exclaims :—

But his whole action grows,
Not in the power on't : *So our leaders led ;*
And we are women's men.—Act III. x. 71.

Enobarbus echoes the same sarcasm, when he says :—
"Under a compelling occasion let women die. It were a pity to cast them away for nothing ; *though between them and a great cause they should be esteemed nothing*" (Act I. ii).

Bacon concludes his Essay upon "*Love*" with the words "*Nuptial love maketh mankind, friendly love perfecteth it ; but wanton love corrupteth, and embaseth it*" (*Love*, 1625). It is of the last we are now thinking. In his Essay upon "*Love*," Bacon writes :—"They do best, who if they cannot, but admit love, yet make it keep quarter, and sever it wholly from their serious affairs, and actions of life. For if it check once with business, *it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men, that they can no ways be true, to their own ends*" (*Love*, 1625).

This was strikingly exemplified in the fortunes of Mark Antony, who on account of his infatuation for Cleopatra, could not follow the career which was open to him through his marriage with Octavia, Cæsar's sister. It was indeed

* Appian remarks of Antony and Cleopatra :—"Their love brought themselves and all Egypt into extreme, and miserable calamities."—*Liber V.*

Antony's return to Egypt, that brought about the war which ended in his defeat and death. That is to say, his mad and inordinate love for Cleopatra, was the direct cause of his quarrel with his brother-in-law. Antony himself was fully aware of the toils into which he had fallen, he exclaims:—

These strong Egyptian fetters I must break,
Or lose myself in dotage.—Act I. ii. 120.

This Play being a sermon upon the tragedy of a character ruined by sensual love, it is not surprising to find, that in a certain subtle sense, Cleopatra has been conceived as a typical earthly Venus, if we may so put it? This idea, which we imagine was borrowed from some details furnished by Plutarch, was indulged in by Cleopatra herself. I refer to the description of the meeting of Antony and Cleopatra upon the river Cydnus:—

For her own person
It beggared all description. She did lie
In her pavilion—cloth of gold of tissue
O'er picturing that Venus where we see
The fancy outwork nature. On each side her
Stood pretty smiling boys, like smiling Cupids,
With divers fans.—Act II. ii.

Plutarch writes:—"For when she (Cleopatra) sailed along the river Cydnus, with such incredible pomp, in a gilded ship, herself dressed like Venus, her maids like the graces, her pages like so many Cupids" (Vit. Anton. Plutarch's Lives). Bacon writes:—"That none of the affections *do fascinate or bewitch save love and envy*" (*Essays, Envy*, 1625). This is most powerfully reflected in the Play when Pompey exclaims:—

* Bacon writes:—"Good things never appear in their full beauty, till they turn their back and be going away" (Colours of Good and Evil, No. 6). Again:—"Death hath this also; that it openeth the gate, to good fame, and extinguisheth envy, *Extinctus amabitur idem*" (i.e., the same when dead will be loved.—(Epistles, Horace II. i. 15).—*Essays, Of Death*, 1625.

It is exactly in accordance with these words, that Antony hearing of his wife's death, exclaims:—

There's a great spirit gone! Thus did I desire it:
What our contempt doth often hurl from us,
We wish it ours again; the present pleasure,
By revolution lowering, does become,
The opposite of itself. *She's good being gone;*
The hand could pluck her back that shoved her on.—Act I. ii. 126.

For it so falls out
That what we have we prize not to the worth
Whiles we enjoy it, but being lack'd and lost,
Why then we tack the value, then we find
The virtue that possession would not show us
Whiles it was ours.—*Much Ado About Nothing*, Act IV. i.

But all the charms of love
 Salt Cleopatra, soften thy waned lip,
Let witchcraft join with beauty, lust with both.*—Act II. i. 21.

Heliodorus held that *love is witchcraft*, for he observes :—

Ludit Amor sensus, oculos perstringit, et aufert
 Libertatem animi, mirâ nos fascinat arte
 Credo aliquis dæmon subiens præcordia flammam
 Concitat, et raptam tollit de cardine mentem.

—*Liber III. Mantuan.*

Antony himself calls Cleopatra *his charm*, and exclaims :—

For when I am revenged upon *my charm*,
 I have done all.

Ah, thou spell, Avaunt.—Act IV. xii. 16—30.

And nothing is more certain than that this *power of witchery*,† or *fascination*, has been fully conceived as a *magical influence*. Scarus in describing the defeat at Actium, and the flight of Antony, exclaims :—

She once being loof'd,
 The noble ruin of her magic Antony
 Claps on his sea wing, and, like a doting mallard,
 Leaving the fight in height, flies after her.—Act III. x. 18.

It is as a *right witch*, as a worker of *grave charms*, that Antony learns to look upon Cleopatra. We can never admire too much the way the *gipsy* is insisted upon, and colours the canvas, whereon Cleopatra is portrayed. In the first act this keynote is struck by the introduction of a Soothsayer, a Palmist, and Fortune-teller, in thorough keeping with the kingdom of the Magicians and Enchanters of Pharaoh—Egypt ! And Antony also recognizes the *gipsy blood* running in Cleopatra's veins :—

O this false soul of Egypt ! *This grave charm*,—
 Whose eye beck'd forth my wars, and called them home ;

* The Ghost (in *Hamlet*) describing the arts by which his brother Claudius won the dead King's wife (Gertrude), exclaims :—

Ah, that incestuous, that adulterate heart,
 With witchcraft of his wit, with traitorous gifts.—Act I. i.

† Othello is charged with witchcraft in having gained Desdemona's love :—

Brabantio.—Damn'd as thou art, *thou hast enchanted her*,
 For I'll refer me to all things of sense,
 If she in chains of magic were not bound.

—*Othello*, Act I. ii. 64.

Othello.—She loved me for the dangers I had passed,
 And I loved her that she did pity them
 This only is the *witchcraft* I have used.—*Ib.* III.

Whose bosom was my crownet, my chief end,—
Like a right gipsy hath at fast and loose
Beguiled me to the very heart of loss.—Act IV. xii.

He also exclaims :—

The *witch* shall die.
To the young Roman boy she hath sold me, and I fall
Under this plot ; she dies for't.—Act IV. xii. 47.

But returning to our main subject, it is almost certain that Bacon conceived Love and Envy, as coming under what he calls *Natural Magic*, to which he has devoted (as an entire subject matter), one of his deficiencies in his *New World of Sciences*. In the "*Advancement*" Bacon says :—"Fascination is the power and intensive act of the imagination upon the body of another. In this kind the school of Paracelsus and the disciples of pretended *Natural Magic*, have been so intemperate, as they have only not equalled the force and the apprehension of the imagination, with the power of miracle working faith. Others, *drawing nearer to the similitude of Truth, when they had most intensively considered the secret energies and impressions of things ; the irradiations of the senses, the transmission of cogitations from body to body ;* the conveyance of magnetic virtues ; came to be of opinion that much more might such impressions ; informations and communications, *be made from Spirit to Spirit*, being that a spirit, of all other things, is more powerful and strong to work, and more soft and penetrable to suffer : whence the conceits have grown, made almost popular of the *Mastering Spirit** ; of men ominous and unlucky ; *of the strokes of Love and Envy ;* and of others of like nature.—(*Liber. iv.*, p. 211 ; *Adv. of Learning*, 1640.)

This passage suggests that Bacon, was acquainted with the marvels of Telepathy, and he evidently was inclined to give credence to these things, for he observes they "*draw nearer to the similitude of truth.*" Love attraction, or fascination, would certainly come under what Bacon calls—"the *irradiations of the senses, and the cogitations from body to body ;*"

*Antony asks the Soothsayer whether his own fortunes, or those of Cæsar shall rise higher.

Soothsayer. Cæsar's.

Therefore, oh Antony, stay not by his side.
Thy demon, that's thy spirit which keeps thee is
Noble, courageous, high, unmatchable,
Where Cæsar's is not ; but near him, thy angel
Becomes a fear, as being o'erpowered ; therefore
Make space enough between you.—*Ant. and Cleo.*, Act II. iii.

for in this subtle sense, sexual love is undoubtedly a process of *natural magic*, due to occult causes, the familiarity of their common and ordinary occurrence, blinding us to what is profoundly secret and akin to magic in their workings! Love is in this sense a species of *bewitchment* :—

Now Romeo is beloved and loved again
Alike bewitched by the charm of looks.

—*Romeo and Jul.*, Prolog. Act II.

I have already said that I consider Cleopatra to be drawn, with some subtle under current of relationship to Venus. I mean Bacon has made her typical of a certain phase of feminine fascination, or attraction (not of the highest), which is understood by the *Venus Pandemos*, or *Venus Aphrodite*. In the epithet, “*Salt Cleopatra*,” applied by Pompey to the Egyptian Queen, we have of course an allusion to the birth of Venus from the foam*, or salt of the sea; probably an allegory, or parable (of the wisdom of the ancients) concealing organic physical truths of generation and origin. The sea, in fact, stood in a certain sense, as emblem of Venus, and certain words connected with salt, have been applied to her influence. It is only on this theory we can explain certain obscure passages in the Play; pointing at Antony, Lucian says :—“Love was born in the sea, which is as various and raging in young men’s breasts as the sea itself, and causeth burning lusts.”

His delights
Were dolphin like; they show’d his back above
The element they lived in.—Act V. 1.

The myrtle-tree was sacred to Venus. Euphronius, Antony’s schoolmaster exclaims :—

I was of late as petty to his ends
As is the morn dew on the myrtle-leaf
To his grand sea.†—Act III. xii.

Compare :—

Sweet, rouse yourself, and the weak wanton Cupid
Shall from your neck unloose his amorous fold,

*Cornesius salem enumerat inter eaque intempestivam libidinem provocare solent. Et salaciores fieri fœminas ob esum salis—*Venerem ideodicunt ab Oceano ortam* (De Sale *Lib.*, c. 2.)

† Compare Lucrece’s speech to Tarquin :—

“Thou art,” quoth she, “a sea, a sovereign king;
And lo, there falls into thy boundless flood
Black lust, dishonour, shame, misgoverning,
Who seek to stain the ocean of thy blood.—*Lucrece*, 652.

And like a dew-drop from the lion's mane
Be shook to air.—*Troilus and Cressida*, Act. III. iii.

There is especial irony in the historical fact, that the sea, on which he was persuaded to fight by Cleopatra (instead of on land), was fatal to the fortunes of Antony at Actium !

The following extract, from the British Museum copy of the "*Essays*" of 1625, will show how Bacon regarded the strokes of Love and Envy. "There be none of the affections, which have been noted to fascinate, or bewitch, but Love and Envy. They both have vehement wishes ; they frame themselves readily into imaginations, and suggestions ; and they come easily into the eye ; especially upon the presence of the objects ; which are the points, which conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see likewise, the Scripture calleth *Envy*, an *Evil Eye*. And the astrologers call the evil influence of the stars, evil aspects. So that still there seemeth to be acknowledged in the act of *Envy*, an *ejaculation*, or *irradiation of the eye*. Nay, some have been so curious as to note, that the times, when the stroke, or percussion of an *envious eye* doth most hurt, are, when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph ; for that sets an edge upon envy ; and besides at such times, the spirits of the persons envied, do come forth, most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow" (*Envy*, *Essays*, 1625).

"Lastly, to conclude this part, as we said in the beginning, that the act of *Envy*, hath somewhat in it, of *Witchcraft* (*Veneficii et Incantationis*—witchcraft and charming") (*Ib.*).

Bacon couples Love and Envy in this common attribute of witchcraft, or charming, because probably, he regarded envy, as the opposite of love, that is as hate (*Invidia*), or love reversed, if we may so put it ? Of Decius Brutus, one of the conspirators against Julius Cæsar, Bacon writes : "With Julius Cæsar Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest, as he set him down, in his testament, for heir in remainder, after his nephew. And this was the man, that had power with him, to draw him forth to his death. For when Cæsar would have discharged the Senate, in regard of some ill presages, and especially a dream of his wife Calpurnia ; this man lifted him gently by the arm, out of his chair, telling him, he hoped he would not dismiss the Senate, till his wife had dreamt a better dream. And it seemeth, his favour was so great, as Antonius in a letter, which is recited *verbatim*, in one of Cicero's Philippics, calleth him *Venefica*—witch (or sorcerer) as if he had enchanted Cæsar."—(*Essays*, *Friendship*, 1625).

At the conclusion of the Play of *Julius Cæsar* we find this :—

This was the noblest Roman of them all
All the conspirators save only he*
Did that they did in envy of great Cæsar.—Act V. v.

This clearly tells us, this Decimus Brutus, conspired against Julius Cæsar, *out of envy*. In the Play, we find Decius Brutus, *laying snarcs of flattery and temptation*, to draw Cæsar forth to the Capitol. When Cassius expresses a fear that the augurers may hold Cæsar back from the Capitol, Decius replies :—

Never fear that, if he be so resolved,
I can o'ersway him ; for he loves to hear
That unicorns may be betray'd with trees,
And bears with glasses, elephants with holes,
Lions with toils, and men with flatterers.
But when I tell him he hates flatterers,
He says he does, being then most flattered.

—*Julius Cæsar*, Act II. i.

In Bacon's "*Civil Character of Julius Cæsar*," we read :—
"Till at the last, whether highflown, with the continual exercise of power, *or corrupted with flatteries*, he affected the ensigns of power (the style and diadem of a king), *which was the bait that wrought his overthrow*" (Page 285, *Resuscitatio*, 1661).

It is just with this *bait of the crown*, that we find Decius Brutus, drawing Cæsar forth to the Capitol :—

The Senate have concluded
To give this day a crown to mighty Cæsar.
If you shall send them word, you will not come,
Their minds may change. Besides, it were a mock
Apt to be render'd, for some one to say—
"Break up the Senate till another time,
When Cæsar's wife shall meet with better dreams."

—Act II. ii. 93.

Bacon evidently considered that Flattery was a species of fowling, or snaring, exactly as we have found Decius Brutus classing it—*with the capture of game*! In his collection of *Antitheta Rerum*, Bacon observes :—"Flattery is that kind of fowling, which deceives birds by resemblance of voice"† (*Flattery, Antitheta xxxviii*).

* *Decius Brutus* must not be confounded with *Marcus Brutus* who is here pointed at.

† In the Play of *Much Ado About Nothing*, Beatrice is ensnared into the belief, Benedict is dying of love for her, by overhearing the flatteries feigned, of Hero's conversation about Benedict—Beatrice being compared to a lapwing :—

We perceive the power, *Decius felt he held over Julius Cæsar*, confidently foreshadowed in these words of the former, to the conspirators :—

Decius.—Let me work,
For I can give his humours the true bent,
And I will bring him to the Capitol.—Act II. i.

And this mystic power of will compelling mastery, is never in doubt for a moment :—

Cæsar all hail ! Good morrow, worthy Cæsar ;
I come to fetch you to the Senate house.—*Ib.*

Cæsar refuses at first to go, on account of his wife's dream, just as Bacon has already told us. Cæsar replies :—

But for your private satisfaction,
Because I love you, I will let you know.
Calpurnia here, my wife, stays me at home.
She dreamt to-night she saw my statue,
Which, like a fountain with an hundred spouts,
Did run pure blood.—*Ib.*

At last Cæsar yielding to the flatteries, and bait of the offer of the crown, yields and goes forth at the instigation of the envious Decius to meet his death.*

Hero.—Now begin ;
For look where Beatrice like a lapwing runs
Close by the ground to hear our conference.

Ursula.—She's limed, I warrant you : we have caught her madam.

Hero.—If it prove so, then loving goes by haps.
Some Cupid kills with arrows, some with traps.

—*Much Ado About Nothing*, Act III. i. 24, 105.

* Bacon writes :— " Finally Julius Cæsar never, to my remembrance, betrayed the impotency of his hidden thoughts, so much as in a speech of like nature ; for when the Augurs gave him information that the entrails were not prosperous, he closely murmur'd to himself—' *Erunt lætiora cum volo*,' which saying preceeded not long before the misfortune of his death. But this *Extremity of Confidence* (as we have said), as it is an unhallowed thing, so was it ever unblest" (*Liber. VIII.*, p. 400. *Advancement of Learning*, 1640). This is exactly paralleled in the Play :—

Servant.—Plucking the entrails of an offering forth,
They could not find a heart within the beast.

Cæsar.—The gods do this in shame of cowardice :
Cæsar should be a beast without a heart,
If he should stay at home to-day for fear.
No Cæsar shall not ; danger knows full well
That Cæsar is more dangerous than he :
We are two lions litter'd in one day,
And I the elder and more terrible.
And Cæsar shall go forth.

Calpurnia.—Alas ! my lord,
Your wisdom is consumed in confidence.—Act II. iii.

Bacon writes :—" *There be that can pack the cards, and yet cannot play well* " (*Cunning. Essays*, 1625).

There can be very little doubt this is pointed at Cleopatra, who was profoundly *cunning*, so much so, that her lover Antony is made to exclaim :—

She is cunning, past men's thoughts.

—*Ant. and Cleo.*, Act I. ii. 150.

Later on Antony exclaims of her treachery :—

I made these wars for Egypt; and the Queen,—
Whose heart, I thought I had, for she had mine;
Which whilst it was mine had annex'd unto it
A million more, now lost,—she Eros, has
*Pack'd cards with Cæsar,** and false play'd my glory
Unto an enemy's triumph.—Act IV. xiv.

In the Essay upon "*Friendship*," Bacon observes :—" That speech was like cloth of Arras opened, and put abroad, wherein the imagery doth appear in figure, *whereas in thoughts they lie best as in packs* "† (*Essays*, 1625). Bacon means that thoughts (in opposition to speech) are rolled up, or concealed, like cards we intend to play, but keep dark. Directly we read Cleopatra's replies to Thyreus (Octavius Cæsar's, Ambassador to Cleopatra), who comes to sound her policy, we find her disclaiming Antony, and *packing cards with Cæsar* :—

Thyreus.—He knows that you embrace not Antony
As you did love, but as you feared him.

Cleo.—O!

Thyreus.—The scars upon your honour, therefore he
Does pity, as constrained blemishes,
Not as deserved.

Cleo.—He is a god, and knows
What is most right; *mine honour was not yielded,*
But conquered merely.—Act III. xiii.

Moreover, Cleopatra *did not play well in packing her cards with Cæsar*. For in order to deceive Antony, or get him out of the way, she caused a false rumour of her death to be circulated, which was the cause of Antony's suicide. Next her duplicity of character, is exposed to Cæsar, when her slave discovers her double-dealing, in having reserved and concealed from Cæsar's knowledge half her wealth—enough treasure to purchase what she made known to him (*Vide* Act V. ii.). In short, Cleopatra had it in her intentions to play

* Prithes friend,
Pour out the pack of matter to mine ear.
† Themistocles, Plutarch, XXIX. 4.

her cards into Cæsar's hand, but she made a mess of it. Antony after discovering her treachery exclaims :—

You have been a boggler ever.—Act III. xiii.

Of Octavius Cæsar, Bacon observes : " But those that are of a *sedate and calm nature*, maybe ripe for great and glorious action in their youth" (*A Civil Character of Augustus Cæsar*, page 288 ; *Resuscitatio* 1661). In describing his own actions Cæsar says :—

*Go with me to my tent, where you shall see
How hardly I was drawn into this war ;
How calm and gentle I proceeded still
In all my writings.*—Antony and Cleopatra.—Act V. i. 73.

Bacon remarks :—" You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth either ancient or recent), there is not one, that hath been transported to the mad degree of love. Which shows that great spirits, and great business, do keep out this weak passion. *You must except, nevertheless, Marcus Antonius the half-partner of the Empire of Rome ; and Appius Claudius the decemvir and law-giver, whercof the former was indeed a voluptuous man and inordinate*" (*Essays, Love*, 1625).

Octavius Cæsar answers very closely to what Bacon calls a " great spirit," and certainly it is as a voluptuous and inordinate man," that Antony is presented in the Play of his name. Cæsar commenting upon Antony's "*lascivious wassails*," exclaims :—

*If he fill'd
His vacancy with his voluptuousness
Full surfeits, and the dryness of his bones*

*Antony,
Leave thy lascivious wassails.*—Act. IV. i.

Bacon adds of Love : "*But in life it doeth much mischief ; sometimes like a Siren, sometimes like a Fury.*" (*Love*, 1625). Compare this, describing Tamora :—

*To wait said I ! To wanton with this Queen,
This Goddess, this Semiramis, this nymph,
This Siren, that will charm Rome's Saturnine
And see his shipwreck and his commonweals.*

—Titus Andronicus. Act II. i.

Now turn to the second scene, of Act V. and see how Tamora is presented as Revenge, or—as a *Fury* !

Tit.—Long have I been forlorn, and all for thee ;
Welcome, dread Fury, to my woful house.—Act V. ii. 82.

Observe what a *Fury*, Cleopatra becomes directly she hears

of Antony's marriage with Octavia, *how she draws a knife, and calls herself mad!* To the messenger she says:—

Thou should'st come like a Fury crown'd with snakes,

Not like a formal man!

Melt into Egypt Nile! And kindly creatures

Turn all to serpents.—Act II. v.

Bacon writes:—"The stage is more beholding to Love, than the life of man. *For as to the stage, Love is ever matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies*" (*Love. Essays*). It is certain we owe the magnificent tragedy of *Antony and Cleopatra*, entirely to the subject of love. I mean, that the Play is entirely founded upon the episode of the love histories of Antony and Cleopatra. Bacon also means, that Love though a most excellent subject for the stage, and particularly for Comedy, often in real life, brings much sorrow, and sometimes tragedy in its train. It is with great difficulty Bacon conceals (what we cannot escape noticing), his profound contempt for love, when taken too seriously. It is the enemy of Fortune, and of business, and he says: "But how much the more, ought men to beware themselves of this passion, *which loseth not only other things but itself.*" (*Love*). This is fully and excellently evidenced in the Play, we are discussing. Antony loses his empire, and Cleopatra betray'd, him to play into Cæsar's hands. In like manner, we find Troilus first losing Cressida, and then her love. The playwright, philosophically analysing the *chief motive of stage action*, is clearly to be discovered, in these remarks upon *Love* by Bacon. For example: "It is a poor saying of Epicurus, *Satis magnum Alter alteri theatrum sumus.* (We are a sufficient great theatre one to the other). As if a man made for the contemplation of heaven and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion; and how it braves the nature and value of things, by this, that the speaking in a perpetual *hyperbole*, is comely in nothing but in Love" (*Love*, 1625). Bacon is very clearly implying, by this citation from Epicurus, that, what we call play pleasure, or the love of contemplating our fellow-creatures', actions, has mainly as its source and root, the love passion. For Romance is certainly a chief element of the Theatre, and, Romance cannot exist without love. Nevertheless, Bacon tells us, Love is a selfish passion, because it not only places false values upon the relative importance of things, but entirely forgets those larger outside

issues, understood by heaven and earth. Bacon hints to us that directly we begin to contemplate each other's lives, we have the root principle of the stage before us, wherein the love passion, is the ruling or central motive of action as in most Comedies, and some Tragedies. Bacon's irony, and keenness of perception, upon the relative uses of Love upon and off the stage, is profound and wonderful. For the stage is indeed beholden to Antony's infatuation, that this Play, came to be written, but we can hardly say the same for Antony's fortunes, or the way in which love affected his destiny. That is to say, the tragedies caused by love, *afford the very best of stage materials, for those who look on only*, but for the real actors in life these tragedies, as they occurred, were not so happy.

With regard to Bacon's observations, upon the perpetual *hyperbole of speech*, used by lovers, it is abundantly illustrated in the Plays. Take this for example :—

Cleopatra.—If it be love indeed, tell me how much.

Antony.—There's beggary in the love that can be reckon'd.

Cleopatra.—I'll set a bourn how far to be beloved.

Antony.—Then must thou needs find out new heaven, new earth.

—Act I. i.

Biron exclaims of his wooing :—

Nor woo in thyme, like a blind harpers song !
Taffeta phrases, silken terms precise,
Three-piled hyperboles.—Act V. ii.

Consider how *Othello* is a love tragedy ; *Romeo and Juliet* is another love tragedy ; *Antony and Cleopatra* a love tragedy ; and reflect how true Bacon's words are of Love, when he says :—"Love is ever matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies" (*Essays, Love*). Of the fourteen Comedies contained (1623 Folio Plays), *there is not one, in which love does not play a conspicuous rôle !* *The Two Gentlemen of Verona ; The Merry Wives of Windsor ; The Comedy of Errors ; Much Ado About Nothing ; Love's Labour's Lost ; A Midsummer's Nights Dream ; The Merchant of Venice ; As You Like It ; The Taming of the Shrew ; All's Well that Ends Well ; Twelfth Night ;* are ever matter of love rivalries, love jealousies, love cross purposes, love aspirations, love intrigues, and their action and main central plot, turns and pivots, upon nothing but love and lovers ! Even the *Tempest*, and *Winter's Tale*, in the episodes of the wooing of Miranda by Ferdinand, and of Perdita by Florizel, come also under this head. "Leave the goodly fabrics of houses, for beauty only, to the *Enchanted Palaces of the Poets, who build them with small cost,*" writes Bacon. (*Of*

Building, Essays, 1625). Even in the case of the finding of Briar-Rose, and her awakening, in the Enchanted, or Sleeping Palace (of the House in the Wood legend), we find that love plays a great part, for the fairy prince, like Florizel first finds, and then woos the flowermaiden. As the Poet sings:—

All precious things discover'd late
To those that seek them issue forth;
For love in sequel works with fate,
And draws the veil from hidden new worth.

We touch the very centre and heart, of the ethical motive, and lesson conveyed by the teaching of this Play, when we find Cleopatra, inquiring of Enobarbus, the true reasons of her defeat at the battle of Actium.

Cleopatra.—Is Antony or we in fault for this?
Enobarbus.—Antony only, that would make his will
Lord of his reason.—Act III. xiii.

Bacon writes: "*Right reason governs the will; good apparent seduceth it.*"—(*Adv. of Learning, I., 7, p. 333, 1640.*) Enobarbus (who plays the part of a chorus of truth), means to say, Antony in abandoning himself to the influence of Cleopatra, had succumbed to his passions, and surrendered his self-mastery, abandoning his Reason, and allowing his will to triumph over it. *The will, with Bacon is the appetite:—*

Then everything includes itself in power,
Power into will, will into appetite;
And appetite, an universal wolf,
So doubly seconded with will and power,
Must make perforce an universal prey,
And last eat up himself.—*Troilus and Cressida, Act I., iii.*

It is exactly in this sense Bacon writes:—"In place there is licence to do good and evil; whereof the latter is a curse; *for in evil the best condition is, not to will; the second not to can.*" (*Of Great Place, Essays, 1625.*)

Compare:—

Angelo.—I will not do't.
Isabella.—But can you, if you would?
Angelo.—Look, what I will not, that I cannot do.
—*M.M. Act. II. ii. 50.*

What Bacon signifies is, that it is the best condition not to be tempted (*will*) if possible; (*i.e., not to will things evil, or as we say desire them*); the second is, if we are tempted (*will, evil*), is not to yield, or to be able (*can*) to follow the will. It will be seen how entirely Bacon makes the will the instrument of appetite and of evil, *which ought to be governed by the*

Reason! Bacon says in his *Essay upon Love*, "And therefore it was well said, that it is impossible to love and to be wise.—For whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both riches and wisdom" (*Essays, Love*, 1615). Antony had abandoned his reason, and quitted his wisdom, as he confesses,

I must from this enchanting Queen break off,
Ten thousand harms more than the ills I know
My idleness doth hatch.—Act I. ii.

Plutarch tells us how Antony was descended from Hercules. "He had a good thick beard, a broad forehead, a crooked nose, and there appeared such a manly look in his countenance, as is commonly seen in Hercules' pictures, stamped or graven in metal. Now it had been a speech of old time, that the family of the Antonii were descended from one Anton, the son of Hercules, whereof the family took name. This opinion did Antony seem to confirm in all his doings; not only resembling him in the likeness of his body, but also in the wearing of his garment." (*Plutarch's Lives, Antony.*)

This supposed descent from Hercules has not only been faithfully followed in the Play, but admirably turned to ethical example, as we shall presently show.—One of the most impressive and striking scenes in the Play is given in the picture of Antony's Guard, before his palace in Alexandria, who hear strange, weird, music on the eve of his defeat.

Fourth Soldier.—Peace! What noise?

First Soldier.—List! List!

Second Soldier.—Hark!

First Soldier.—Music i' the air.

Third Soldier.—Under the earth.

First Soldier.—It signs well, doth it not.

Third Soldier.—No.

First Soldier.—Peace, I say!

What should this mean

Second Soldier.—'Tis the god Hercules, whom Antony loved,

Now leaves him.—Act IV. ii.

Antony, in confessing his retribution exclaims:—

Eros ho!

*The shirt of Nessus is upon me; teach me,
Alcides, thou mine ancestor, thy Page.*

—Act IV. xiii.

Nessus was a Centaur, celebrated for his lascivious disposition. Dumain describes Bertram's amorous temperament—"For rapes and ravishments he parallels Nessus." (*A. W.*, IV., 3, 281.) The fable of the "shirt of Nessus," is an

allegory of the Nemesis which accompanies excessive lust of the blood, for the shirt of Nessus, whilst compelling the recipient to exclusively love the donor, *at the same time devoured with poison whoever put it on.* Cleopatra had played to Antony, the part Deianira played to Hercules. She had given him the shirt of Nessus, with all its sensual blood poisoning, and the black Nemesis accompanying it.

W. F. C. WIGSTON.

AN EXPLANATION.

THE Howard Publishing Company, Detroit, Publishers of the "Cipher writings of Sir Francis Bacon," as deciphered by Dr. Owen, and "Francis Bacon's Bi-literal Cipher" request that the following may be inserted in the present Number of BACONIANA. They are afraid that the allusion in the October Number, 1899, to Mrs. Gallup, as "type writer and expert cryptographer" may lead to some misapprehension.

"Mrs. E. N. Gallup is a lady of extensive literary attainments, now in middle life, a teacher of large experience, having fitted herself for positions of the highest importance by special work, including a period of study in France and Germany. She was for some time previous to becoming interested in Dr. Owen's discovery of the Word Cipher* in the Plays, at the head of an important educational institution, her special field being Literature and the Languages.

"She became associated in the work of developing the Word Cipher of Dr. Owen, during the preparation of Vol. II. of *Sir Francis Bacon's Story*, in January, 1894, deciphering part of Vols. III. and IV., and, with her sister, Miss Wells, all of Vol. V. as noted in Dr. Owen's preface to the book. *The Tragedy of Mary Queen of Scots*, and the *Tragedy of the Earl of Essex*, both most powerful works, were deciphered, and arranged in their published form by Dr. Owen.

"During, and after Dr. Owen's severe illness in 1895, and subsequent ill-health, which prevented him from going on with the work, these ladies completed Vols. VI. and VII. (as yet unpublished) and a portion of the Iliad, which is also found in Cipher in the works used. In the early part of 1897, Mrs. Gallup discovered in the *fac-simile* of the Folio 1623 Shake-

* This is the method here designated as the "Phrase Cipher." It consists of phrases, not single words, put together.

speare Plays, the presence of Bacon's Bi-literal Cipher, so fully described and illustrated in *De Augmentis*, in the peculiar *Italic* letters found in two forms scattered profusely through the text. She deciphered the hidden story so unexpectedly revealed, which led to the examination of original Editions of Bacon's acknowledged works. The Cipher was found running through these as well, and confirmed, in the most positive and emphatic manner, both the Word Cipher discovered by Dr. Owen, and this Bi-literal Cipher in the Plays. A continuation of the work yielded some most remarkable revelations, which were put in type and copyrighted in April last, for private circulation. The results of the decipherings since that issue, are now in the printer's hands, and, added to what was printed in April, will be published in a single volume for general circulation as soon as practicable."

TO THE EDITORS OF "BACONIANA."

SEEING that the question of Cypher writing is not at all appreciated by the general public at the present day, I am quite ready to support the credit of my own personal opinion upon it.

Bacon devised six several systems of Cypher, as explained in the *De Augmentis*, some of them being elaborate and difficult, whether to write or to read when written. The simplest was one which he called the Bi-literal mode, and which he suggested should be the first studied by such as might at a future day be endowed with sufficient knowledge, patience and perseverance to master it.

When the deciphering of some of Bacon's writings began to be produced in modern times, it was necessarily attempted without the full experience required to ensure correctness. And when this came to be critically examined by those who were still less informed, and had given it far less attention, it is not altogether surprising that the result should be ridiculed as absurd. There is, however, no doubt now about the deciphering being absolutely correct, according to the highest mathematical and literary evidence that can be obtained.

WILLIAM WHITE, F.S.A.

NOTICES, ETC.

THE Editors would be glad if the author of an article on "The Merry Wives of Windsor and its Cypher Message" would communicate with them.

The Editors wish to remind authors that they can receive no articles for publication unless the name and address of the author is sent to them (though not necessarily for publication).

WE have been requested by a learned German correspondent to ascer-

tain for him whether or not any registers of birth of Anthony and Francis Bacon are extant. James Spedding and other biographers seem not to have thought this particular of any importance, at least they do not take notice of it. The matter, however, as well as that concerning any register or notification of the death and burial of Francis, should surely be inquired into.

WE hear from America that the very remarkable Book of Cipher extracted by Mrs. Gallup from the Shakespeare folio, the *Novum Organum*, and many other works attributed to Francis St. Alban, is all but ready for the press. The Cipher itself is the Biliteral Cipher invented and described by Francis St. Alban himself in the *De Augmentis*, and it is consequently capable of verification by anyone who will be at the pains to follow the instructions, and to work upon the photographic fac-similes of some of the deciphered sheets which have been marked by the decipherer in such a way as to facilitate the examination. Mrs. Gallup and her sister, Miss Wells (not *West*, as the name was in error printed in our last number), are now at New York working upon some portions of the narrative which from lack of the needful books they had been obliged to leave incomplete, "picking up missing links from old originals that are not in the Boston libraries."

THE following are books lately published in connection with the Bacon-Shakespeare problem :—

"It Was Marlowe," by Wilbur Gleasar Zeigler. This is only a romance, but fully deserving the praise bestowed on it by the American Press, not only as readable, but as a careful study of Elizabethan times.

"Francis Bacon and His Shakespeare," by F. S. E. Dixon.

"The Cipher in the Plays and on the Tombstone," by Ignatius Donnelly.